/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (zindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[171] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinava /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first
[821] rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by the appearance of the Pleiades (itsu) above the horizon early in the morning.

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[824]
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consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

[249]

[755]

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

[789]

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

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At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).

[351]

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This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[421]

[Fig 6 appears on p. 69 -- Analyst]

/349 cont./

556 [435] [437] tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 [251] Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

• 221 226 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[198] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if

[227] [482] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four: the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters; these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

• [221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from [251] the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though [438] the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [435] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/14 cont./

311 The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less
317 water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu
241 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

139 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
182 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from
[133] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/60 cont./

223 River, he tied inflammable material to the horns of 2,000 oxen, lighted it, and drove the oxen up to the heights, thus managing to get through and gain a victory over the Roman army, which, believing the oxen to be enemies running in every direction, abandoned the narrow pass to defend other positions and was defeated the next day. In the above-mentioned months young men and children sleep little at night in order to go hunting for doves and to have a delicious meal the next day with their families, since the slaughter of doves and other little birds which are unfortunate enough to sleep near them is great.

[221] [262]

*136 PATO /duck/. -- Where there are lakes or ponds there are innumerable ducks of many sizes and colors; some are so large that they seem to be geese. There are black, white, pink, and brown ones; the last are fat and delicious. The Chiriguano eats the meat of the duck, but he does not pursue it, because he finds this so difficult. When he can, he hunts it, but more because this web-footed bird puts or deposits its eggs on the shores of a lake, on top of the grass or hidden among the reeds which grow near lakes; these are /61/ avidly sought by young and old, men and women, because the water is not deep in these places. The duck is called "Ipe" in Chiriguano which is, literally in the water, since lake is called "Ipa," or wide or extended water.

[262] [223] [222]

PAVA /turkey/. -- They have their favorite places and do not go far from them; they will be found there exactly at sunrise and before nightfall. They reveal themselves when a hunter or anyone else approaches, because they immediately begin to cackle and to fly from tree to tree in fear, which causes a disagreeable noise. The turkeys are as big as a large chicken, with quite a long tail and black feathers. There are two kinds: the larger one is called "Yacu" and is found in abundance from the right bank of the stream Cuevo; the others are called charatas by the whites, "Anancua" in Chiriguano. These are numerous from the left bank of the Parapiti River in the province of Lagunillas.

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574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [293] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

293 824 191 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/173 cont./

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824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

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574 When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a
[476] reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup
[831] of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342
312 The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more
• [22] opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man
[44] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season.
[356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest: this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools: the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. The spade was like those used by bakers for [824] putting bread in the oven: it was of oko wood and was at- [239] tached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark: the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores: these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

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1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 Planting was usually done in the month of November, [824] after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. The cacique took part in the general [496] planting, ordering that those under him should help one [534] another: thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

/356 cont./

24| enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
23| and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom
they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

> 2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious: if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

24| The harvest-maris for the Chiriguano the time of the year
22| that he calls Mbaegüe, which literally means a dry thing or
things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them: the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

> 3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another: the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

529 /357/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better
221 life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut between May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.